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VOLUME LXIII, NUMBER 19208

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1996

Congress alleges Israel stealing US secrets

HILLEL KUTTLER
WASHINGTON

ISRAEL is one of several countries allied with the US that conduct economic espionage to gain access to new weapons technology through companies they own in America, according to a congressional investigative report.

The report by the General Accounting Office states that "Country A," which *The Washington Times* yesterday said referred to Israel, "routinely resorts to state-sponsored espionage, using covert intelligence-collection techniques to obtain sensitive US economic information and technology."

The FBI and CIA, according to the report, consider the technology leaks "a significant threat to national security."

Israelis in the US were reportedly involved in stealing "sensitive technology" applicable to the manufacturing of artillery gun tubes, and in obtaining secret information by monitoring the Pentagon's communications, the newspaper reported.

(Continued on Page 20)



Prime Minister Shimon Peres lays a wreath yesterday at a memorial ceremony at the Gefful Junction for the 35 people killed in the coastal road bus massacre 18 years ago. Story, Page 2.

Beilin: Arabs know capital stays united

'Peres halted exploratory talks last fall'

SOURCES close to the talks between Minister Yossi Beilin and leading PLO official Mahmoud Abbas yesterday voiced dismay that Prime Minister Shimon Peres had pulled the plug on their "pre-final status" exploratory talks after assuming office last fall.

More than a year of secret talks, headed by Beilin and Abbas, resulted in a call for the establishment of a Palestinian state in return for Israel keeping both Jerusalem united and areas where close to 100,000 settlers live.

One source called this a "very promising opening for final status talks for both sides."

"This could be historic and critical for Israel, as it enters final status talks this spring, but so far Peres is saying it is a footnote to history. He does not want a Palestinian state, but confederation with Jordan, and that is why he ended the talks," the source said.

There are conflicting views whether PLO Chairman Yasser

DAVID MAKOVSKY

Arafat gave his backing to the principles.

The two sides engaged in drafting and exchanging many papers, and it appears there is a joint unsigned draft. However, in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* last night, Beilin denied there is any agreement. He refused to elaborate.

"Palestinian aspirations and traditional Israeli concerns can be reconciled," according to the source. "The Palestinians can have a demilitarized state in which they would have control of immigration. In exchange, we don't have to return to the 1967 borders, but can maintain our military presence on the Jordan River indefinitely."

Under the deal, he said, "Israel would retain sovereignty over united Jerusalem in its current boundaries and can add Ma'aleh Adumim, Givon, and Givat Ze'ev to the city. Yet the Palestinians would be able to take over villages outside Jerusalem, such

as Abu Dis, Eizariya, or even Ramallah and call it al-Kuds.

"Palestinians might retain their right to discuss other parts of Jerusalem, but they know this could take a generation."

Beilin said that, "Jerusalem will not be partitioned; they have come to understand that it will remain our undivided capital. Israel will be able to maintain most of the settlers, but not most of the settlements, under its sovereignty. We will not keep most of the West Bank. There is a reason that I can talk to the settlers and tell them that most of them will be allowed to remain under Israeli sovereignty."

Beilin said the main points of commonality with Abbas were reached during several meetings in Jerusalem. Apart from those meetings, two confidants of Beilin, Prof. Yair Hirschfeld and Dr. Ron Pundak, held a host of other meetings here and abroad over a year's time. Other participants included former top Peres aide Nimrod Novik and London-based Palestinian

(Continued on Page 20)

Sarid elected Meretz leader West Bank, Gaza closure lifted

MICHAL YUDELMAN

ON LEVY

ENVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid was unanimously elected Meretz chairman yesterday by the movement's 900 council members.

The council also bid farewell to outgoing chairman Shulamit Aloni, who is retiring from political life after 31 years in the Knesset. Aloni officially announced she would not set up an independent party to run in the elections, and led Meretz leaders to believe they could count on her support in the campaign.

Aloni was warmly received with applause, hugs, and kisses.

In her address, she told the council members: "At one time I considered forming another party, with the very large support of highly respected, well-known, and dear people. There was also considerable financial support for this. But I felt that I must not do it."

She hinted at her anger toward Meretz leaders and the complaints against her leadership, noting, "I was told that I simply wasn't there. And one person said I had gone abroad and played tennis. I admit I like playing tennis, but I don't have the time for it. I was abroad, and I'm sorry I wasn't asked why. I managed to double the budget from the

(Continued on Page 20)

THE closure clamped on the West Bank and Gaza Strip on February 12 to prevent suicide bombings was lifted at 4 a.m. this morning.

The IDF gave no reason for the decision to allow tens of thousands of Palestinian laborers back into Israel.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres said when the closure was imposed that Israel had information Islamic militants were planning to avenge the assassination of bombmaker Yehye Ayyash after the 40-day mourning period was over.

Senior military sources said that since the closure was imposed, the Palestinian Police has conducted

Labor launches battle against Netanyahu

SARAH HONIG

THE Labor campaign team has decided to launch a personal onslaught against Likud prime ministerial candidate Binyamin Netanyahu, in which he is to be described as unfit to lead the country and even lacking the confidence of his own party's members.

The decision on the Netanyahu strategy was reached in the Labor campaign team's first session at Kibbutz Shefayim, just prior to the weekly political bureau session. Attending were ministers Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, Ehud Barak, Haim Ramon, Moshe Shal, and party Secretary-General Nissim Zivli, some of whom spoke to reporters between meetings.

Ramon launched the offensive by declaring that, "Even Bibi's own fellow Likud members know now that it was a fatal error to entrust him with their party's leadership and it would be a far graver error yet to let him near the helm of state. If this is how his friends feel, then the public can hardly be expected to vote for him. Even the Likud members know there is no one better and more deserving to run the country than Peres. The bottom line is that the Likud has no candidate."

Barak said "Netanyahu and Peres are simply not of

(Continued on Page 20)

Agudat Yisrael okays bid for united religious ticket

HERB KEINON

THE religious parties were buzzing yesterday with talks of merger, as Agudat Yisrael gave the green light to the idea of a united religious front, and Meimad and the National Religious Party confirmed they are discussing the formation of a joint religious Zionist list.

Agudat Yisrael's daily *Hama-dia*, reporting on Wednesday's meeting of the party's Council of Sages, wrote that the council called for a union of all forces in the Torah-observant camp for the upcoming elections, "during which the future of Torah Judaism in Israel will, to a large extent, be decided."

Avishai Shitochhammer, the council's secretary, confirmed that the rabbis had given the nod to efforts to form a united religious front. As to whether the council will actively push the issue, he said the fact they have agreed to hold a meeting on the issue is itself a "push."

Shitochhammer said that such a front would be possible only if Degel Hatorah, Shas, and the National

(Continued on Page 20)

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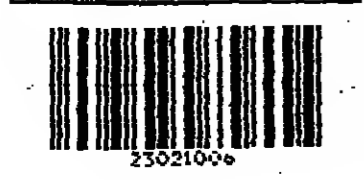
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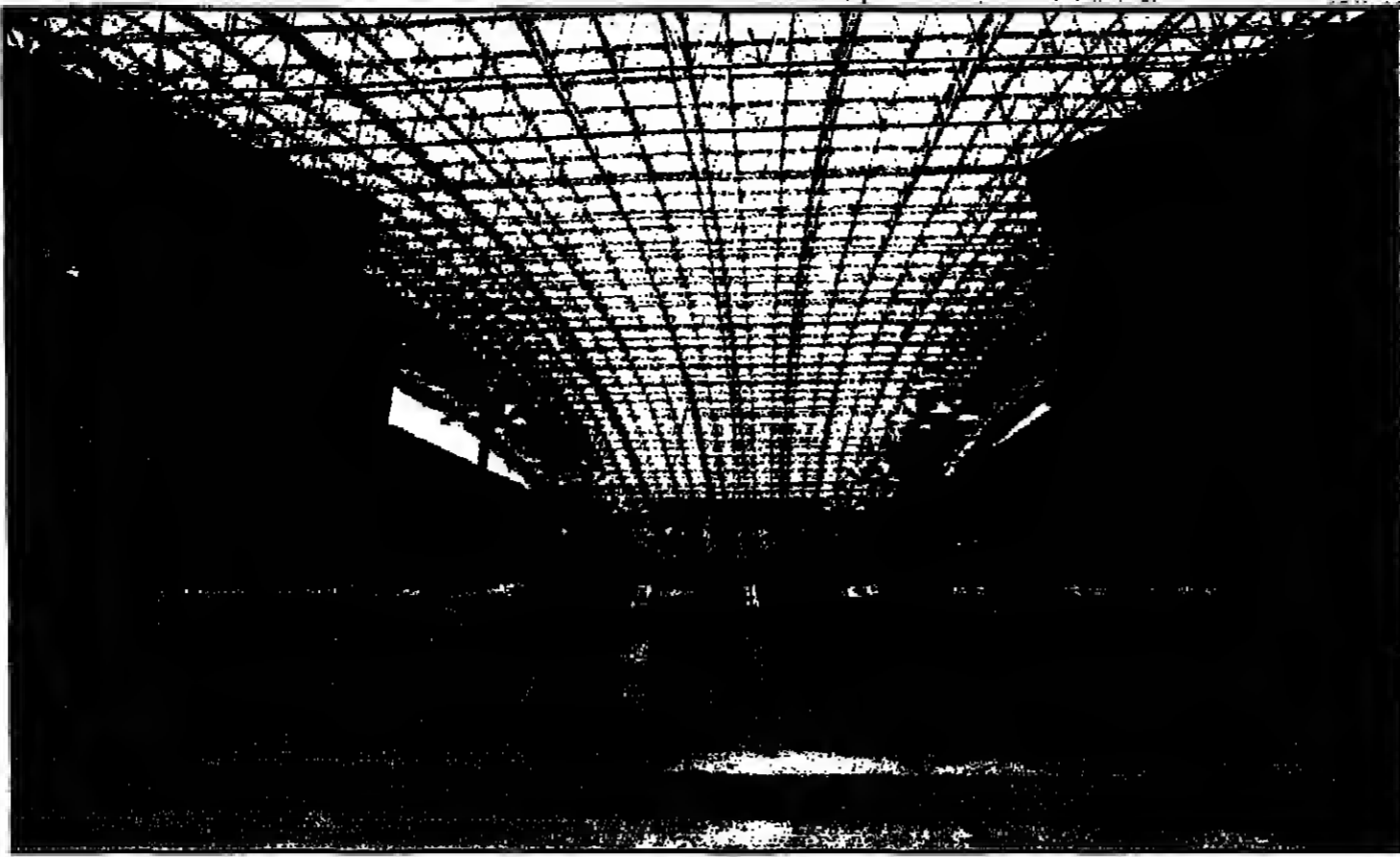
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Tapuah man allegedly shot at Palestinians

HERB KEINON

DAVID Singer, 26, of Tapuah, was arrested yesterday for alleged involvement in three incidents of shooting at Palestinians or Palestinian property from mid-1995 to early 1996. Singer was arrested last week for allegedly threatening Arab shepherds. The next day he was released on bail, with restrictions placed on his movement. The police also took his weapon for ballistic tests, which - according to spokesman Bosz Goldenberg - linked the weapon to the three shooting incidents. Singer was arrested yesterday morning after seeking permission from the police to travel abroad for his brother's wedding. According to Goldenberg, Singer is suspected of involvement in shooting up solar water heaters in the village of Urif near Yitzhar, of shooting at a car in Burio, and of shooting at a mosque in Halhoul.



Hashalom Station, the second of five planned train stations along the Ayalon Highway in central Tel Aviv, will open to the public tomorrow night. The new station will serve about two million passengers a year and provide easy access to the city center. Designed by architect Eri Goshen, the station's wide roof is in the shape of a giant wave covering the bus stops on Hashalom Bridge, the ticket office, and the platforms. (Text: Sybil Ehrlich; photo: Israel Sun)

Qumran yields ancient text

ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

THE first ancient writing to be found at Qumran in 40 years - a pottery sherd inscribed with 16 lines of Hebrew - was uncovered at the site recently. The inscription, still in the process of decipherment and only partially intact, apparently lists food supplies sent to Qumran from Jericho. This is the first text not of a religious nature ever uncovered at Qumran, near the Dead Sea, where between 1947 and 1956 more than 800 parchment and papyrus scrolls were found in caves. It is also the first Qumran text found on a pottery sherd. The discovery was made by a team of American volunteers working at the site two weeks ago under the direction of Prof. James Strange of the University of Southern Florida. "I was clearing some earth with a trowel when I suddenly heard a clink," said Joseph Caulfield, 39, a carpenter from the state of Washington. "I picked up the sherd and after a second or two I saw that there were definitely letters on it. It had been lying only an inch or two below the surface." The sherd is plainly not part of the corpus of writing known as the Dead Sea Scrolls, a collection of religious texts hidden in 11 caves around the ruins of Qumran almost 2,000 years ago. However, it is the first Qumran inscription that may be connected to the daily life of the people who dwelt there. The absence hitherto of such mundane documents has puzzled scholars and led some to argue that Qumran was a military outpost and not the monastery-like religious commune it is generally believed to be. The sherd was not found in one of the caves, but a few dozen meters south of the Qumran compound, which is generally regarded as a "motherhouse" for the Dead Sea sect. The sherd lay on the exterior side of a stone wall girding the compound. Found near it were some sherds from the First Temple period, including the handle of a storage jar.

Arafat sees Israel's demise

Jerusalem Post Staff

YASSER Arafat told a closed meeting of Arab ambassadors in Stockholm recently that he expects Israel to collapse in the foreseeable future, according to the Norwegian daily Dagen of February 16.

The PLO leader was in the Swedish capital on January 30 to celebrate a peace prize shared by Peace Now, Labor Young Leadership, and Fatah Youth.

According to Dagen, the report has been confirmed by Swedish sources, which traced the information to one of the diplomats attending the meeting with Arafat following a festive dinner.

Assuring this audience that the establishment of a Palestinian state is imminent, Arafat was quoted as declaring that both Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Minister Yossi Beilin would support such a state, as long as religious freedom is guaranteed its Jewish inhabitants.

But he predicted Jews would not want to live under Palestinian sovereignty. "They will give up their dwellings and leave for the US," he said, adding, "We Palestinians will take over everything, including all of Jerusalem. Peres and Beilin have already promised us half of Jerusalem. The Golan Heights, too, have already been given away, subject to just a few details. And when they are returned, at least a million rich Jews will leave Israel." Arafat said he expects civil war to erupt in Israel, in which Russian immigrants, "half of whom are Christians or Moslems," will fight for "a united Palestinian state." He also asserted that the "so-called Ethiopian Jews" are Moslems.

Outlining his strategy, he said, "The PLO will now concentrate on splitting Israel psychologically into two camps. Within five years we will have six to seven million Arabs living on the West Bank and Jerusalem. All Palestinian Arabs will be welcomed by us. If the Jews can import all kinds of Ethiopians, Russians, Uzbeckians, and Ukrainians as Jews, we can import all kinds of Arabs. We plan to eliminate the State of Israel and establish a Palestinian state. We will make life unbearable for Jews by psychological warfare and population explosion. Jews will not want to live among Arabs.

"I have no use for Jews. They are and remain Jews. We now need all the help we can get from you in our battle for a united Palestine under Arab rule," he concluded. Responding to inquiries by Ma'ariv, Arafat's office in Gaza called the report "false and inaccurate."

The contents of Arafat's talk were first reported in Israel by the off-shore radio station Arutz 7 on February 7.

Suspect held in Jaffa shooting
A suspect was arrested yesterday afternoon in the attempted murder of a former collaborator, who was shot four times earlier in the day in the Jaffa vegetable market. Khalil Dagma, 30, who ran a stall in the market, was in fair to serious condition after the shooting.

Maccabi head quits after fraud conviction

JUDY SIEGEL and Itim

RAFI Roter, the Maccabi Health Fund's long-time director-general, resigned yesterday after being convicted of fraud by Tel Aviv Magistrates' Court.

Yisrael Rotem, managing director of Procardia, which is jointly owned by Maccabi and private investors, was also convicted of fraud, as were Maccabi and Procardia. Roter also served as a board member of Procardia, which provides rest and recuperation to heart patients in Tel Aviv.

The long-running case involved a 1987 agreement by Maccabi to loan \$4 million to Procardia. The money was meant to help the company buy the Basle Hotel in Tel Aviv, which Procardia intended to use as its coronary recuperation facility.

Maccabi brought the proposal to its finance committee, chaired by Roter, on December 1 1987. According to the meeting's protocol, the loan was to be given without interest.

However, it was charged in court, at the end of 1988 or the beginning of 1989, documents were found in Maccabi's safe to the effect that there was a further agreement between Roter and Procardia on December 16, 1987, whereby the loan was to be linked to the dollar and carry an annual interest charge of 6.5 percent.

Maccabi, the prosecution charged, listed the money it made from the interest and linkage as coming from discounts and supervisory fees, and thus was able to maintain its tax exemption.

Judge Bracha Ofir-Tom ruled that it had been proved beyond a reasonable doubt that Procardia and Rotem had concealed the interest and linkage payments by falsely listing them to its books that Roter was aware of this and approved it.

The defendants' expressions of regret did not satisfy the judge, who also expressed surprise that Prof. Shlomo Laniado of Ichilov Hospital, one of the investors in Procardia, had not been charged with Rotem.

Labor Histadrut faction likely to drop Ramon from list of recommended primary candidates

LABOR'S Histadrut faction is expected to drop Interior Minister Haim Ramon's name from its list of recommended candidates in the party primaries. The final list will be released on Sunday.

The faction's political forum met yesterday to formulate the list. Faction heads drew up a list of 18 names, including most of the party's incumbent ministers. Foreign Minister Ehud Barak and Finance Minister Avraham Shohat topped the list.

"We will recommend to our activists and to party members close to the Histadrut to vote for candidates we think should be in

the next Knesset. These are people who have proved their support of the Histadrut and who are sure to promote the Histadrut's interests in the next Knesset," faction chairman Haim Haberfeld said.

Ramon's name was added to the list at the last moment, after administration section chairman Meir Gati, who arrived late, insisted on it.

"This is no time for to settle petty accounts," he said. "We

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

we will support people who will support the Histadrut's strong general federation, while Ramon wants to turn it into a small, poor trade union. We have a problem with Ramon, no matter how important he is to Labor. I'm sure there are enough other party members to vote for him," a faction source said.

The final list will be whittled down to eight names, and Ramon's name is not expected to be on it.

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11:00 - Shiur - Harav David Kav shilta
12:15 - Shiur - Harav Yitzchak Peretz shilta, Chief Rabbi of Ra'anana
13:15 - Lunch
14:00 - Shiur - Harav Avraham Rivlin shilta, Mashgiach
15:00 - Mincha
15:30 - Dedication of Bet Hamidrash Building in memory of Maran Rosh Hayeshiva זצ"ל. Speaker: Rabbi Morris Estormes shilta
16:30-18:00 Semicha Ordination Ceremony of Kollel students and graduates in the presence of the Chief Rabbis of Israel
Speakers: Rosh Hayeshiva, Harav Mordechai Greenberg shilta Chief Rabbi of Israel, Harav Yisrael Meir Lau shilta Chief Rabbi of Israel, HaRishon L'Zion, Harav Eliahu Bakshi Doron shilta
Conferral of Semicha: Rosh Kollel, Harav Zecharia Tubi shilta
19:00 - Maariv
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The dedication of the tombstone in loving memory of ESTHER TAYLOR 77 will be held on Wednesday, February 28, 1996 at 3 p.m. at the Eretz Hachaim Cemetery, Har Tuv Junction (near Beit Shemesh). The Family

Our beloved HAROLD FLOWERS passed away suddenly. The funeral will take place today, Friday, February 23, at the Rehovot Cemetery at 12 noon. His shocked and bereaved family: Sylvia Flowers, Zvia, Reuven, Arnon, Allon and Erez Grafit Sarone, Yosi, Tali, Ron and Gill Avrahamov Uri, Paula, Jonathan and Daniel Flowers

Upon the sheloshim of the death of our beloved mother LEA ROSENBAUM 77 we shall gather for the unveiling of her tombstone on Sunday, February 25, 1996 (5 Adar 5756), at 2 p.m. Meeting at Har Hamenuhot - Har Tamir, Jerusalem. Our thanks to all our comforters. Rosenbaum, Ben Dor, Molho, and Armoza Families

THE UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA The leadership, staff and students extend deepest condolences and heartfelt sympathy to Harry D. Weilheimer, a devoted friend of the University, on the passing of his beloved wife ELIZABETH ("Ebs") WEILHEIMER 77

With regret we announce the death in Eemnes (the Netherlands) of OSCAR JACQUES VAN LEER In accordance with his will, his body has been donated for medical research. The Executors: L. Insigner, R. Alberts, B. ter Haar, H. Leliveld

The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute regretfully announces the passing of OSCAR VAN LEER 77 A Member of the Board of Trustees since its inception whose spirit and vision have been a source of inspiration. The Members of the Board, Executive Director and Staff

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, deeply mourns the passing of its dear friend RHODA GOLDMAN and extends heartfelt condolences to Richard Goldman and the entire Goldman and Haas Families

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY The Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research deeply mourns the passing of LEONA FINKLER 77 founder and benefactor of the Institute, and devoted supporter of scholarly Holocaust research Prof. Dan Michman, Chairman

Serbs flee in chaotic exodus from Sarajevo

COLUMNS of desperate Serbs fled Sarajevo suburbs in a chaotic exodus yesterday, jamming mountain roads around the city hours before Moslem-Croat federation police were due to begin patrolling the area. Trucks, cars, tractors and trailers struggled along a back road from Sarajevo a day before the scheduled arrival of Moslem-Croat police in the northern suburb of Vogosca. Hundreds of Serbs stranded without transport hiked up a steep, muddy track fleeing on foot in the snow. Several fires burned unattended in Vogosca, one of five suburbs which will be handed over to the federation by March 20 under terms of the Dayton peace agreement signed in December. President Alija Izetbegovic, who led Bosnia in its break from old Yugoslavia, was taken to the hospital with suspected heart trouble but a senior party official said his life was not in danger. "Doctors will give an official statement on his health condition. It is not life threatening, there is no reason for any concern," Edhem Bicakcic, vice-president of the ruling Party of Democratic Action (SDA), told state radio. Bicakcic said the Moslem president was tired after leading Bosnia through war, lengthy peace negotiations and last weekend's Rome summit. (Reuter)

Coalition talks in Turkey postponed Gas pipeline blown up in Chechnya

ANKARA (Reuter) - Turkey's Islamist and conservative leaders have delayed talks on a coalition after disagreements between senior party aides, Turkish television said yesterday. Private ATV and Kanal D television channels said disagreements between the aides on the formation of the cabinet had delayed the talks between Islamist Welfare Party leader Necmettin Erbakan and conservative Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yilmaz, scheduled for this morning. Kanal D said the talks may take place tomorrow. Senior Turkish Islamist and conservative aides met for a second time yesterday to discuss apportioning ministries in the coalition. They had met for more than six hours late on Wednesday to prepare the ground for the planned meeting between their leaders. The talks had become embittered as Yilmaz and a top Islamist clashed over whether Motherland, placed third in December polls, was entitled to demand further concessions from Welfare which came first but was shunned by secular parties. Erbakan and Yilmaz had earlier this week moved closer to agreement, announcing they would rotate the premiership. GROZNY, Russia (AP) - Terrorists blew up a gas pipeline yesterday in an explosion that ignited a fierce fire in Chechnya, even as Russian forces were stepping up security on the eve of a solemn Chechen anniversary. Leaders of the Russian-backed Chechen government blamed the blast, and a similar attack in neighboring Dagestan, on separatist fighters loyal to rebel leader Dzhokhar Dudayev. No casualties were reported. But amid reports of a new clash between rebels and Russian troops, Moscow's forces beefed up security at their posts around Chechnya as a precaution against what they called further provocations by the rebels. Today is the 52nd anniversary of the brutal mass deportation of Chechens by Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, who accused them of collaborating with the Nazi army. More than half the population of 425,000 Chechens and Ingush died on the journey to the barren steppes of Central Asia.

Ferial and Sami Balass and family extend their deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences to Jacob Ballas of Singapore on the sad passing of his beloved mother GRACE BALLAS With deep sorrow we announce the tragic deaths of AB and DOROTHY KRAMER 77 Ab Kramer was known as an outstanding leader of the Zionist movement of Great Britain, member of the Presidium of the Zionist General Council, and Deputy Chairman of the World Confederation of United Zionists. Eil Eyal, Chairman, Organization Department, WZO; Yitzhak Peretz, Chairman, Zionist General Council; Kalman Sultaniuk, Chairman, World Confederation of United Zionists

Bar-Ilan University We deeply mourn the passing of our great and very dear friend, a woman of valor, vision, courage and leadership LEONA FINKLER 77 of Toronto, Canada Vice Chairman of the Bar-Ilan Global Board of Trustees and former President, Canadian Friends of Bar-Ilan University. Together with her late husband, Arnold, Leona Finkler devoted herself to the cause of Jewish continuity and scientific research through Bar-Ilan, for more than two decades. She touched the lives of all that knew her. Among her accomplishments: The Marilyn Finkler Cancer Research Building The Leona and Arnold Finkler Institute for Holocaust Research The Leona and Arnold Finkler Hall of Human Rights in the Emanuel Rackman Law Center The Chancellor, Global Board of Trustees, President and past President, Administration and Faculty extend deepest condolences to Patricia and Allan Friedland and the family. May you be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

Black students attend white school in SA

POTGIETERSBURG, South Africa (AP) - Police and journalists outnumbered students yesterday as blacks arrived for classes at the Potgietersrus primary school to end an apartheid-era tradition of discrimination. Most of the school's 700 white students failed to show up, and little schooling occurred as the 16 black pupils played in the library while about 20 whites either met in classrooms or went home. One white girl burst into tears when surrounded by reporters and television cameras, and her father took her home. The scene, reminiscent of the US civil rights movement in the 1950s, ended the most blatant challenge to date to equal rights laws that took effect with the nation's first all-race election in 1994 that ended apartheid. "White parents and the school's governing body had previously blocked attempts by blacks to enroll in the state-subsidized school. This year, with the law behind them, blacks filed a court challenge backed by the provincial government and won the case. Just after 7 a.m., the black family that led the legal challenge arrived at the school gate, walking past armored police vehicles blocking the road to prevent possible protests or harassment by whites. "We have to work together," said Yvonne Matukane, who came with her three children and husband, Alson. "Everything is there for us now. My children must get what they are supposed to get because they are South Africans."

Carlos the Jackal charged in 1974 Paris cafe bombing

PARIS (AP) - Carlos the Jackal, the infamous terrorist jailed here in an international string of bombings and hijackings, has been charged in a 1974 grenade attack at a Paris cafe. The Paris prosecutor's anti-terrorism unit confirmed yesterday that Carlos was placed under formal investigation late Wednesday in the explosion, which killed two people and wounded 34 others. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed responsibility for the cafe attack. Investigators believe the terrorist group hired Carlos as a free-lance terrorist to carry out the attack in revenge for the July 1974 arrest of Yutaka Furuya, a Japanese member of the Red Army faction. Carlos long has been a suspect in the September 15, 1974, attack at the popular Drugstore cafe on Paris' bustling Boulevard Saint-Germain. The grenade exploded as the cafe was packed with patrons. Paris anti-terrorism Judge Jean-Louis Bruguiere is handling the case. A spokeswoman for his office would not say whether any new evidence had surfaced to implicate Carlos, and she declined to elaborate.

Fahd stages smooth comeback, oil markets calm

MANAMA, Bahrain (AP) - King Fahd's resumption of his duties after an almost three-month illness has disproved skeptics who thought his advanced age and history of bad health would preclude his return as Saudi Arabia's monarch. World oil markets reacted calmly yesterday, and Fahd's smooth comeback has not been accompanied by jumbings of discontent from other Gulf states. Fahd, overweight diabetic in his 70s, fell ill in late November with an ailment that's never been officially disclosed. "Having spent a period of rest and convalescence, God has bestowed on me a cure and good health," Fahd said in a letter Wednesday announcing his return. The king said the decree handing over state duties to his half-brother and heir apparent, Crown Prince Abdullah had "excited" the Saudi Press Agency reported early yesterday.

ON SUNDAY - OUTLOOK DAY IN THE JERUSALEM POST DON'T MISS: American Outlook comments by Alan Dershowitz, Martin Peretz, Evans and Novak and other leading American columnists; and favorite comics: Peanuts, B.C., Feiffer, Calvin and Hobbes. DON'T MISS IT!

SECOND IN A SERIES QUESTIONS FOR COMMSTOCK Q. I'm concerned that the stock market is due for a drop. But I hesitate to sell my shares because I like the companies involved and I think their stock might rise in value. And how can I buy new stocks now in light of the downside risk? Is it possible to have a more secure position? A. You can insure your portfolio - capping your downside without limiting your upside - by utilizing protective put options. For a relatively small premium compared to the market value of your stock, a protective put insures that no matter how far the stock drops, it can be sold at the strike price of this option until the put expires. An experienced broker can help you decide which stocks in your portfolio could and should be safeguarded with protective put options. Do you need answers about investing? Mail your questions, along with your name, address and phone number, to Successful Investing, c/o CommStock Trading Ltd., POB 7777, Jerusalem 91077, or fax to 02-244876. If your question is used in this column (without your name, of course), you will receive a gift from CommStock! COMMSTOCK EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO SUCCEED CommStock Trading Ltd. (Est. 1981) Futures, Options, and Stock Brokers Jerusalem: City Tower, 34 Ben Yehuda St. Tel. 02-244963; Fax: 02-244876 Ramat Gan: Beit Silver, 7 Abba Hillel St. Tel. 03-575-8826/27; Fax: 575-6990 Home-quote terminals and beepers available.

JAVICO 150

News in Focus

Friday, February 23, 1996

If I campaign for thee, O Jerusalem...

Has the Likud raised the issue of Jerusalem too early?

Sarah Honig reports

IN May 1994 then-foreign minister Shimon Peres gave his passionate word to the Knesset that there had been absolutely no undertaking whatsoever given to the PLO not to tamper with its institutions in Jerusalem.

Peres was speaking in reply to a Likud outcry that such an undertaking had indeed been given to Yasser Arafat in a secret letter. Peres took the rostrum to holly deny the charge and while doing so did his acerbic best to make a mockery of the Likud's "desperate and reckless fabrications." All this despite the fact that Arafat himself had declared he possessed a copy of the said letter.

Hirschfeld and Ron Pundak, the initiators of the Oslo process, are conducting "unofficial talks with the Palestinians about dividing Jerusalem."

The Likud is again up in arms and Peres is again being very carping and derisive in his denials. Those with keen political ears can even discern the counter-part to the late Norwegian foreign minister. Peres does not deny that someone is talking in Europe about Jerusalem but that "no authoritative representatives of the government" are doing so.

Pundak indeed frankly admitted this week that he is "holding discussions in Europe about the various possible options concerning Jerusalem," but that he is doing so unofficially and that the "options do not necessarily involve the division of the city but perhaps the adoption of the boroughs system."

On May 7 of that year Likud MK Benny Begin actually produced the letter in which Peres undertook to allow the Palestinian institutions to operate unhindered in Jerusalem.

But with perfect aplomb Peres maintained that he had not been caught lying. The document which Begin had made public didn't count, he apparently unfettered Peres coolly contended. The letter that Begin got hold of had not been addressed to Arafat but to the Norwegian foreign minister Jurgen Holst, one of the begeners of the Oslo accords.

If it all sounds familiar nearly two years later, it's because the entire scenario seems to have been replayed again. At the end of last month Kof Yisrael reported that Peres's protege, Minister Yossi Beilin, had met Arafat clandestinely in Sweden to discuss the future of Jerusalem.

A fortnight later Faisal Hussein confirmed that talks are under way with the PLO about Jerusalem. On February 15 Ha'aretz reported that Yair

The latter is indeed openly and enthusiastically espoused by Beilin and need not entail using loaded words like division or partition, but will instead make possible creative euphemisms such as "the suspension of sovereignty" or "functional administrative arrangements."

Whether one believes that all this smoke indicates fire depends, of course, on prior political inclinations. But the two outstanding differences between now and 1994 are the fact that we are on the eve of elections and that Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated. Hence the Jerusalem issue promises to be pivotal in the Likud's campaign, while Labor's defense is to accuse the Likud of rank incitement and of putting Peres's life at risk just as it did Rabin's.

Health Minister Ephraim Sneh



said so clearly. "What we are witnessing, now reminds me not of November 1995 when Rabin was murdered, but of October 1995 when the right so abhorrently incited against him, leading to the assassination." It may be no coincidence that on the day the Likud's Jerusalem campaign was launched, Peres's daughter Zvia Walden complained that plants were ripped from the garden of her Ramat Hasharon office, and speculated whether this was politically motivated, perhaps the opening shot in an onslaught against her father.

Chiming in, Religious Affairs Minister Shimon Shetret wondered whether the Likud had learned anything at all from the assassination or is back to its bad old ways of incitement. There is

not the slightest attempt at contrition on their part."

But Tourism Minister Uzi Baram sympathizes with the Likud's plight. It realizes that the Oslo accords are good. It's disenchanted with [Binyamin] Netanyahu's leadership. It sees the link with Toomet was a fatal error.

"The Likud needs to extricate itself and what better way than inventing an issue - Jerusalem. There are real problems in life, so why look for artificial nonexistent causes?"

There is no denying within Likud ranks that Jerusalem is a campaign issue, though it is not clear if it's as potent as Labor apparently fears.

Jerusalem could be an emotive topic, but it's not certain that it is

so at this juncture. With the economy and daily life ostensibly calm just now from the vantage point of Mr. and Ms. Israeli, the Likud might not easily shake the voters out of their apathy even with such a potentially emotional issue as Jerusalem.

The Likud is gambling and gambling big. It is using its heaviest guns at a time when there is no tangible change in Jerusalem.

Warnings about behind-the-scenes nefarious activity - even if they are eventually borne out - may not grip the electorate sufficiently to translate into support at this time. Even if the Likud's assertions are eventually vindicated, the question in the party is whether this will happen in time to cash in electorally.

Likud strategists felt they had to

act fast. New electioneering laws to go into effect soon would limit the size of billboard and newspaper ads. The Likud wanted to move before they take effect and to seize the momentum in the campaign. Three issues were considered - the Palestinian state, the Golan and Jerusalem.

Labor was "surprised by the choice. No one believed the Likud would use its most powerful ammunition so early," says Labor Secretary-General Nissim Zvilli. His instructions to Laborites are that they should not debate the Likud's substantive points of argument. Rather than address the Jerusalem issue proper, Labor will resort to the tactic of branding its very use as a form of incitement.

Labor is putting its money on this approach, judging that the

public is still shaken enough by Rabin's assassination to respond emotionally to charges of incitement - charges which Labor could conceivably level at any stand the Likud takes. Thus the better the issue the Likud chooses to spearhead its campaign, the greater the danger of a backlash. If the Likud removes its gloves and attacks Peres's credibility, as in the Jerusalem issue, Labor is sure to counter by delegitimizing the Likud's message on the ground that it constitutes incitement.

"In this way we will soon find it impossible to say anything. What is happening here is unheard of in a democracy," complains Likud newcomer Yitzhak Mordechai.

"We are faced with a situation in which the opposition isn't allowed to say anything, run any sort of campaign or mount any challenge. The government seeks to muzzle us while at the same time presenting itself as the righteous victim."

Three months before official negotiations on Jerusalem begin, the truth is that this government will not allow Jerusalem to jeopardize its Oslo accords.

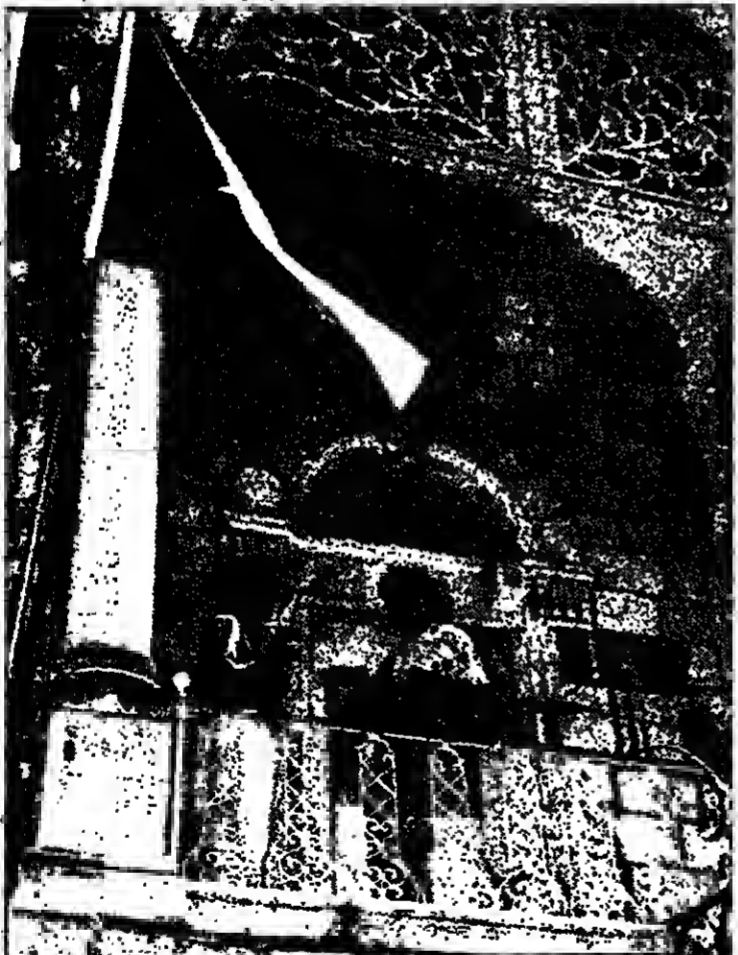
"Jerusalem is very much in peril. Labor is already sponsoring talks. Thirteen PLO institutions operate in Jerusalem and world leaders come on pilgrimage to them." Worst yet, the government is preventing large-scale construction, especially in corridor areas, which could be used to carve up the city again under one guise or another.

"The government is pulling the wool over the nation's eyes and, we are damned if we say so. If we don't say so, we not only stand to lose the elections, but we will surely lose Laborism."

To which Merez's Shulamit Aloni replies: "The Likud isn't out to save Jerusalem but to turn the entire Moslem world against us, dangerously obscuring the fact that the God of the Moslems has many more troops than does the God of the Jews."

PA avoids Israeli obstacles, makes inroads in Jerusalem

Orient House is but the tip of Arafat's quasi-governmental iceberg in the capital, Bill Hutman reports



Palestinian security men stand guard at the entrance to Orient House. (Ariel Jerozolimski)

ACCUSED OF planning to redivide Jerusalem this week, Prime Minister Shimon Peres reacted sharply: "I know of no one who is prepared to partition Jerusalem. The Labor Party is clear on this. We're in favor of a united Jerusalem."

"There will not be two governments in Jerusalem," Peres told the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee on Tuesday. "There will not be two administrations."

Peres was talking about what will happen to Jerusalem as the peace process moves into its final stage, while the opposition charges the government with conducting secret talks that could lead to the redivision of Jerusalem.

But already today, even before official talks on Jerusalem scheduled for May begin, the Palestinian Authority's presence can be felt virtually everywhere in eastern Jerusalem - from a Silwan school and Mount of Olives hospital, to the streets of the Old City and a minister's office at Al-Aksa.

The PA's inroads in eastern Jerusalem are nothing new; they started being made immediately after signing of the Declaration of Principles in September 1993, while the PLO and other Palestinian political factions exerted influence in eastern Jerusalem long before the DoP.

The opposition is making the capital's future a major issue in the election campaign, forcing the government to come to terms with the phenomenon of Palestinian political power there.

"The things we are doing now at Orient House are not new activities. We started them a long time ago, even during the time of the Likud, and we have the right to continue," said Faisal Hussein, the senior PA official in Jerusalem.

This is the essence of the Palestinian position: Palestinian political power in eastern Jerusalem is a fact. It has existed despite Israel's attempts since 1967 to stamp it out, and it was legitimized by the DoP, which put Jerusalem on the peace talks agenda.

IRONICALLY, the DoP and Gaza/Jericho-First agreement are also used by the opposition parties to base their demands for action by the government against PA activity in Jerusalem. The two agreements do specifically limit PA institutions to the Palestinian territories.

But there is a catch. The letter of October 1993 by then-foreign minister Peres to Norwegian foreign minister Johann Jurgens Holst, which remained secret for months, opens up the possibility for Palestinian institutional, even quasi-governmental, activity in Jerusalem.

"I wish to confirm that the Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem and the interests and well-being of the Palestinians of East Jerusalem are of great importance and will be preserved," Peres wrote.

"Therefore, all the Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem, including the economic, social, educational and cultural, and the Christian and Moslem places, are performing an essential task for the Palestinian population.

"Needless to say, we will not hamper their activity," Peres concluded. "On the contrary, the ful-

fillment of this important mission is to be encouraged."

As a result, Palestinian institutions are maintaining their long-time links with the PLO, except now, after Oslo, the links are to the PA. In addition, the PA, its official Israeli-recognized offices just a few kilometers north of Jerusalem in Ramallah, now has the ability to move into areas it couldn't before.

The latest PA inroad, according to Israeli sources, is its funding of guards for Al-Aksa to strengthen its standing there. Most of the guards there continue to receive their salaries from Jordan.

PA security agents are also on duty on the Temple Mount, to protect the PA-appointed mufti, Akram Sabri, and PA Religious Minister Hassan Tahboub, who has an office just outside Al-Aksa, according to the sources.

The ministry's main office is in Ramallah, but Tahboub often receives foreign dignitaries in Jerusalem, including a Vatican delegation that came recently to discuss plans for the celebration of Jesus' 2,000th birthday, the sources said.

IN SEPTEMBER, the nonpartisan monitoring group Peace Watch listed 11 institutions connected to

the PA in Jerusalem."

Peres said this week that three PA-affiliated organizations - the Palestinian Broadcasting Authority, Palestinian Bureau of Statistics and Palestinian Health Council - moved out of the city after being warned their operations there would not be tolerated.

Ziv Hellman, a senior researcher for Peace Watch, said Peres apparently is mistaken. The Health Council is still operating, although the PBS and PBA had apparently left Jerusalem for Ramallah, he said.

Israeli sources monitoring PA activity in Jerusalem said the PBA is also still operating its office in the city.

The Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction, on Peace Watch's September list, is also now operating outside Jerusalem. That leaves 10 organizations affiliated with the PA operating in the capital, according to Peace Watch and Israeli sources.

The PA organizations include the Palestinian Housing Council, Palestinian Health Council, Palestinian Labor Office, Palestinian Water Authority, Palestinian Institute for the Wounded, Municipal Council of East Jerusalem, Orient House, Palestinian Energy Center, Palestinian Ministry of Religious Affairs, and Office of the Mufti.

The above organizations allegedly are connected both financially and administratively with the PA, although in some cases they deny this.

ORIENT HOUSE is by far the best known of the PA-affiliated institutions in Jerusalem, because of the widely publicized diplomatic activity there. But Israeli sources said Orient House is also the center of less-known quasi-governmental operations, including a "complaints department," which gives eastern Jerusalemites an alternative to the Israel Police for dealing with crime. The police are investigating.

The department, which has been under investigation by Israel Police, is one of the areas in which the PA-affiliated organizations, and other PA groups headquartered outside the city, touch directly on the lives of Jerusalem's Palestinian residents.

Many schools in east Jerusalem are supervised by PA education inspectors, and receive their curricula from the PA. Unless the government intervenes at the last moment, PA Education Ministry certificates will be given to all high-school graduates in eastern Jerusalem, municipal sources said.

Palestinian institutions of higher learning in Jerusalem are also

supervised by the PA's Council for Higher Education, located in Ramallah, according to Israeli sources.

In the area of security, the PA presence in eastern Jerusalem has been widely publicized. Last week, Palestinian Preventive Security agents were detained for kidnapping Jerusalem Palestinians and taking them to Ramallah for interrogation.

Jerusalem Police Chief Arye Amit said police have contained Palestinian police and security

work in Jerusalem. Other sources, both Palestinian and Israeli, however, said this is not the case, and that Palestinian security agents continue to operate in eastern Jerusalem.

The An-Nahar newspaper reported this week that senior Fatah set up a civil guard in the Old City that operated during Ramadan to help with crowd control. Jerusalem police sources downplayed the report.

With regard to Orient House, Internal Security Minister Moshe

Shahal issued a stern warning this week that meetings there with foreign ministers from other countries will no longer be tolerated. Peres also said he would not allow Orient House to serve as a PA foreign ministry.

As for other PA activity, just where the lines are to be drawn remains to be seen.

The government and the public, which the opposition has urged to make its voice heard on Jerusalem, have yet to take a clear stand.

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Direct elections won't end horse-trading

For the first time since the new "Basic Law: the Government" — popularly known as "The Law for the Direct Election of the Prime Minister" — was passed in March 1992, Israel is to have general elections in which both a new Knesset and a prime minister will be elected simultaneously. There is a good deal of confusion among the public as to what exactly to expect.

Susan Hattis Rolef examines the complications and consequences of the new electoral system

The most common question being asked is: what happens if Shimon Peres is elected as prime minister but the right-wing and religious parties together gain more than 60 of the 120 seats in the new Knesset, or alternatively, what happens if Benjamin Netanyahu is elected but Labor, Meretz and the Arab parties together gain a majority of seats?

old system? In the past after elections, after the resignation of a government, the president invited representatives of all parties to his residence to inform him who each of them would like to see as prime minister. The president then invited the candidate with the best chances of forming a government to do so, irrespective of whether his party had the largest number of Knesset seats.

The answer to this question is simple. Whoever is elected prime minister will have 45 days in which to form a government which enjoys the support of at least 61 MKs. His only other constraint is that the government he forms must include no fewer than eight ministers and no more than 18 — at least half of them Knesset members, and no more than six deputy ministers — all of them Knesset members.

If the candidate failed after a certain stipulated period — as happened in the case of Peres, after the National Unity Government was brought down by a vote of no-confidence in March 1990 — the president turned to the leader of another party.

Under both systems, after the prime minister forms his government he must obtain the confidence of at least 61 Knesset members. This is an improvement on the current situation where a government can be brought down by a majority of those voting, but it does not strengthen the position of prime minister vis-a-vis the Knesset as the drafters of the law had hoped.

The new law provides for several situations in which special elections must be held, and several where new elections for both prime minister and Knesset will take place. Special elections will be held if the prime minister resigns, if he ceases to be a Knesset member, if a majority of the Knesset decides to remove him from office because he has been convicted of a disgraceful offense, if at least 80 Knesset members decide to remove him after the Knesset House Committee has reviewed such a proposal, if he dies or if he is

incapacitated to the extent of being unable to fulfill his duties. Under normal circumstances elections for the prime minister and Knesset will be held simultaneously every four years. Elections for the two will also be held if the Knesset brings the government down in a no-confidence vote, if the Knesset fails to pass the budget law by the end of March of the financial year to which the budget applies, and if the prime minister feels that he no longer commands a majority in the Knesset and decides to dissolve it, for which act he requires the consent of the president.

The provision about the budget law was put in since in such a situation the government would be unable to continue to function. What exactly the Israeli political system will gain from this new system is unclear. The original intention was to strengthen the prime minister at the expense of the Knesset and free him from the post-election horse-trading.

But the Knesset refused to pass the law as originally proposed. The only count on which the directly elected prime minister will be stronger than prime ministers in the past will be in that he will be able to claim that he has a direct mandate from the electorate to rule the country.

As to the horse-trading, not only does the new system not get rid of this distasteful activity, but it ensures that there will be two rounds of it. The first will take place before the elections for the prime minister, when each of the candidates will want to secure the formal support of as many of the small parties as possible.

The second will take place after one of the candidates is elected and he will have to secure the support of 61 Knesset members. Whether or not the new system will be more stable than the old one is difficult to predict. It might be argued that stability cannot be won by means of constitutional manipulations such as the new "Basic Law: the Government."

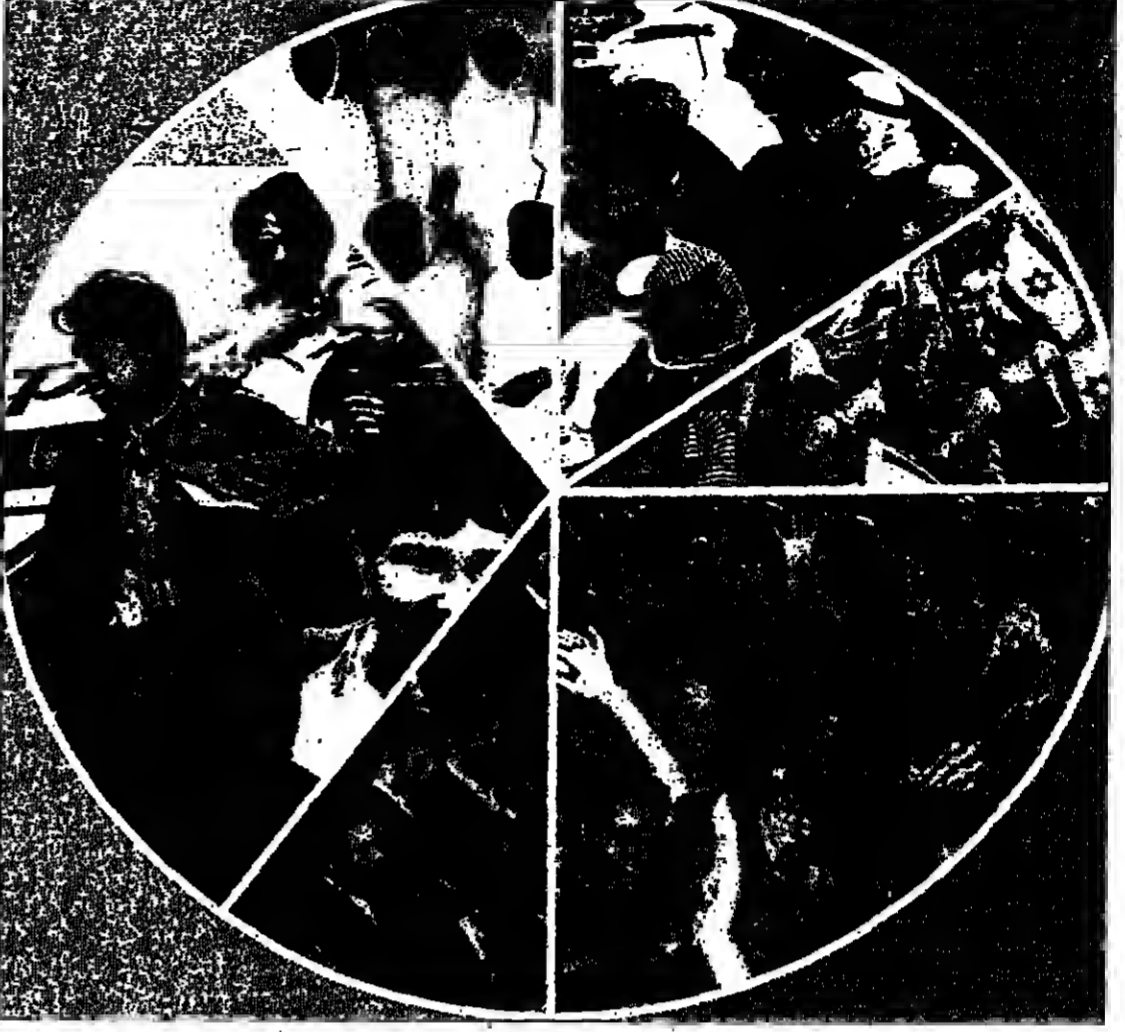
Brace for a 'sweeping vote change'

Pollsters are divided over how the swing vote will affect the outcome of the elections, Allison Kaplan Sommer writes

Arab and haredi populations — are expected to balance each other out in the tug-of-war between the left and right. Among the religious, there has been very little shift from the right to the left since the assassination, the pollsters say. Smith notes there is another group of potential swing voters: traditional Likud supporters who

year there are more of them. Dr. Abaroo Fein, of the Tatzpit Institute, who specializes in the Russian immigrant population, says while 240,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union were eligible voters in 1992, this year there are 450,000 eligible voters. Fein also notes that this population has changed since 1992. "They are better organized and

society that they are sophisticated now," Fein says. "I think they have been disappointed with the Israeli perception that they are not well-educated, that their engineers are not real engineers, and their doctors are not real doctors. They want to show the Israelis they are not as backward as they might have thought — that they are educated and qualified to lead." The question of how Russian immigrants will vote in the prime-ministerial race is an even greater mystery. The reluctance of the immigrant party to identify itself with the right or the left is part of that strategy, he says. "By staying in the middle they will have more bargaining room," reasons Fein.



He is currently working on trying to predict whom the Russian immigrants will support for prime minister. "We've found that the immigrants are more right-wing oriented" than the general population, he says, but notes he has not polled enough of them to reach any definite conclusions. When it comes to voting directly for prime minister, the entire country belongs to the group of first-time voters. Will votes for prime minister fall in line with Knesset votes, or like voters in the United States, will the ambivalent middle split their votes, favoring one bloc for the Knesset and another for prime minister?

Smith says that since Rabin's assassination, he's seen the possibility of vote-splitting. "I believe the assassination has caused this to become two separate campaigns. Up until the assassination there was no inconsistency between how people said they would vote for the Knesset or prime minister. Those who supported the government supported the prime minister, those who opposed the government, opposed him." Following the assassination, there was a slight change. There is now a certain percentage of people who will vote Likud and Peres," Smith says.

Another post-assassination trend: a gravitation away from smaller parties toward the larger ones. "The tendency since the assassination is for people to rally to the big parties in their camp. In both camps there is a tendency for the larger parties to poll numbers away from the smaller. This may have a lot to do with the shock that has gone through the society since the assassination — the need to rally together."

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voted Labor in 1992 because of Rabin's personal appeal. The question is whether they will stay with Labor or go back to the Likud. Pollsters are in wide agreement that the biggest question mark over the election is the way immigrants will vote. The enormous increase in the number of immigrants, especially since 1992, has created a new bloc, the biggest difference between the 1996 and previous elections. The Russian vote is expected to be greater than the Arab vote — making up 11 to 13% of the ballots cast. But unlike the Arab vote, the haredi vote, or any other bloc, the Russian vote is completely unpredictable.

"We tend to think that the Russians are basically oriented toward voting against the government in power," says Smith, explaining the group's vote for Labor in the 1992 election. Still, there is little certainty that they will necessarily move toward the Likud this year. And besides, this

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A Mock Negotiation
Israelis and Palestinians Seeking an Agreement
Monday Evening, February 26, 1996
Notre Dame Center - Jerusalem
20:00 - 22:30
Israelis: Dr. Menahem Klein, Attorney Danny Seidemann
Palestinians: Prof. Mammet Nassar, To Be ANNOUNCED
Moderators: Prof. Ove Bring, Sweden; Dr. Gershon Baskin, IPCRI

Jerusalem Visions
Tuesday, February 27, 1996
Notre Dame Center - Jerusalem
10:00 - 18:00

10:00 Eastwan Abu Ayyash - Chairman, Palestinian Broadcast Authority
10:20 Dr. Peres Ben-Zvi - Former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem
10:40 Dr. Berelitz Shapson - Prof. of International Law, Al Najah University
11:00 Father Thomas Strassky - Rector, Tantur Ecumenical Institute
11:20 N.R. Ziad Abu Zayyad - Attorney, Elected Member of the Palestinian Council
12:00 Dr. Ali Qleibo - Anthropologist, Author and Artist
12:20 Teddy Kollek - Former Mayor of Jerusalem
12:40 Canon Dr. Naim Abook - Priest of the Palestinian Congregation, St. George's Cathedral
13:00 BREAK
14:00 Dr. Mordechai Baron - Historian, Former M.K.
14:20 Prof. Sari Nusseibeh - President, Al Quds University
14:40 Rabbi David Rosen - Former Chief Rabbi of Ireland
15:00 Dr. E. Finkel at Bessal - Member, PTA
15:20 Uri Armony - Author and Journalist
15:40 Prof. Bernard Sabelko - Dept. of Sociology, Bethlehem University
16:00 Prof. Tsvetli Kuznetsov - Chairman, Hebrew Shalom
16:20 Dr. Anis al Qas - Deputy Minister of International Cooperation, PTA
16:40 Dr. Elad al Haddad - Prof. of Engineering, Birzeit University
17:00 Prof. Salimone Diop - Dept. of Geography, Hebrew University
17:40 Sarah Kaminer - Urban Planner, Former Member Jerusalem City Council

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Hamas has a future if it cooperates with Fatah

The party's strategy of boycotting the Palestinian elections while encouraging certain candidates to run appears to have succeeded, Jon Immanuel reports



A child is flanked by two women at a Hamas rally in Hebron. The main difference between Fatah and Hamas is the division of power and how to make peace with Israel. (Khaled Zighan)

DOWN, but not out, Hamas has emerged from a pummeling in the elections refreshed by Ramadan. It is preparing to form an Islamic-democratic coalition in the elected council and then launch a comeback in municipal elections.

He has been a frequent Hamas-Fatah go-between and appears to be something of an unofficial scout for Hamas. He even crossed the Green Line into Israel last month to attend a peace award ceremony. Falouji does not see Islamists as his only natural allies. He has met with Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi, who is closer to communism than to Islam, "to work for democracy," he says. "Why not, I think Islam and democracy are the same."

Its ability to stand at all after more than 80 percent of the voters supported an election that Hamas said would be determined by non-voters is baffling. But its strategy of boycotting the elections, while at the same time encouraging some candidates to run, maintained an ambiguity that allowed the movement to stay together.

DESPITE his official expulsion by Hamas officials abroad for choosing to run in the election, Falouji says his relations with Hamas in Gaza are good. He has not been threatened, and it is unlikely that a go-between would operate without consulting others. His attitude toward peace talks may be a touch more liberal than the one publicly enunciated by Hamas, but it is a little more hawkish than that of the most radical Fatah members.

About 10 members of the 88-seat council are either Islamists or favor implementing Islamic law. This is hardly a majority, but if Hamas had run openly with better-known candidates, it would not have won many more seats and may have split into factions for and against Oslo.

If Israel agrees to "our minimum demands" to withdraw to the 1967 borders and dismantle settlements, "I can agree at this stage to recognize Israel," he says.

This way, despite tensions between "moderates" and "radicals," Hamas remains formally outside the council, committed to its old anti-peace plan and has retained the right to commit violent acts while using the Islamist council members to try and radicalize the forum.

The return of 1948 refugees remains a right, but he reveals a certain flexibility when he says "everyone can choose whether to come back or take compensation."

The most prominent Islamist in the council actually ran on the Fatah ticket but insists he is not beholden to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat for putting him there. "I am not a Fatah member. I was an Islamic independent in the Fatah coalition," says Imad Falouji, former editor of the Hamas weekly *Al-Watan*.

For a former editor of *Al-Watan* to talk of recognition, and not just "a cease-fire," is a verbal leap, though wrapped in the ambiguous phrase "at this stage."

How important is Hamas opinion now? Hamas continues

to assert it has the support of 40% of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians. At a press conference in Al-Bireh three weeks ago, senior West Bank Hamas personalities insisted they won the election. Hamas said 51% of those eligible were non-voters by using a complicated feat of numerical engineering which exaggerated the number of spoiled votes and empty ballots and subtracted alleged double votes by police and Fatah supporters.

HAMAS refused to recognize the test of the council elections, but it cannot avoid the test of municipal elections, scheduled tentatively for May or June, around the same time that Arafat must change the Palestinian charter.

Local elections are important, because Hamas considers them "social," not "political," and the movement believes in achieving power by building its influence from the bottom of the social pyramid.

If Hamas were to lose by a landslide in local elections, it is difficult to imagine any future for it. Hamas may therefore have to start preparing itself for these elections by showing that its surrogates in the council are concerned with the basic issues of their voters - the economy, public morality, education and other non-political issues.

A mood of realism is therefore creeping into the Hamas camp, and with little compromise it can reflect views close to the heart of Palestinian society, which is essentially conservative and religious in nature.

For example, in a recent poll by the Palestinian Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, the response of Hamas supporters to some key questions were surprisingly similar to those of Fatah voters. Concerning the much-touted issues of basic civil rights, 42% of Hamas voters said there is "no need to integrate personal status laws in the Palestinian

constitution," while 43% of Fatah voters felt the same way. And when the same people were asked to explain why, 89% of Hamas voters and 91% of Fatah voters said "religious law is sufficient."

The main difference between Hamas and Fatah has been over the division of power in Palestinian society and how to make peace with Israel.

Both have been settled for the time being with the election results.

"Everyone is now saying Arafat began the peace process, so he is the one who must carry it through," said Alaa Mashbarawi, a journalist considered close to the Islamic movement. "Hamas is convinced that military operations are no longer useful. They feel they have no power in the street."

The huge demonstrations in Gaza after the killing of Hamas bomb-maker Yihya Ayyash were encouraged by the Palestinian Authority itself to distance itself from blame.

This does not mean Hamas or its armed wing, Izzadin Kassam, will end violence.

But if Hamas bombed Israelis largely to send a message to Arafat, as Arafat's aides used to say, there should be less reason for such "messages" now. The attitude of Fatah and Hamas to the final talks will be much closer than to the intermediate talks.

Arafat's "maximum position" and the "minimum position" of Hamas will be total Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders.

With Fatah-Hamas unity that close, Arafat will exploit it both to strengthen himself and his bargaining position with Israel. He will start with a radical new charter on Palestinian national rights up to the Green Line, which will replace the old charter Arafat is obliged to change.

This should silence his critics, but may limit his negotiating flexibility.

TRAIL

(Continued from Page 9)

Buchanan confessed in that column that "yes, a change has taken place" in his attitude toward Israel as compared with the time "from June of '67... until I went back into the White House in 1985," a time he claimed to be "an uncritical apologist for Israel, a Begin man all the way, defending everything from the attack on the Iraqi reactor to the invasion of Lebanon. I thought they were terrific friends."

"And yes, a change has taken place. For many reasons. "Among them: The manipulation of the traitor Jonathan Pollard to systematically loot the secrets of the most generous friend Israel will ever have. The gratuitous brutality against Palestinian old men, women, teenagers and children. The Good Friday land grab at the

Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The shipment of cluster bombs to the Stalinist Mengistu regime in Ethiopia. The caustic, cutting cracks about my church and the popes from both Israel and its amen corner in the US."

Foxman issued a statement saying, "While Buchanan's attack on Jews and Israel are nothing new, they appear to be an obsession. He is obsessed with Jonathan Pollard, but not with the Walker spy ring. Obsessed with the deaths of Palestinians who are waging war on the Jewish state, but not with the cold-blooded mustard-gas massacre of 5,000 Iraqi Kurds by Saddam Hussein. He dismisses the murder of millions of Jews during the Holocaust but derides the Office of Special Investigations for pursuing Nazi war criminals.... He claims that the newspapers

that carry his columns 'do not print hate literature.' True, they rarely do. But today, every newspaper which ran Pat Buchanan crossed that boundary."

Among the papers carrying his column that day was the *New York Post*. In an unprecedented display of criticism, an editorial by editorial editor Eric Breindel, appearing opposite Buchanan's column, cited his previous antisemitic remarks and innuendos, and explained why the paper felt it had to publicly distance itself from one of its own regular columnists:

"What concerns us is Buchanan's attitude toward Jews as a group. When homosexual activists demonstrated against John Cardinal O'Connor at St. Patrick's Cathedral, desecrating that sacred place, Buchanan wrote a blistering column denouncing the demonstra-

tion.... Indeed, the condemnation, in this instance, was widespread.

"But only Buchanan managed, somehow, to drag Jews into the discussion. He chided *The New York Times* for relegating its news story on the St. Patrick's incident to Page B3. And he asked rhetorically whether the *Times* would have been so restrained 'had a synagogue been so desecrated.'"

"How did synagogues enter the picture? Was it impossible for Buchanan to write a column about the sacrilege at St. Patrick's Cathedral without a snide reference to synagogues?"

It concluded: "When it comes to Jews as a group - not Israel, not US-Israeli relations, not individual Jews - Buchanan betrays an all-too-familiar hostility. A month later on *The McLaughlin Group*, Buchanan lashed back at the ADL,

saying the organization, in a "pre-planned, orchestrated smear campaign," was calling newspapers around the country and "threatening them" if they didn't cease publications of his column, which was being carried by 180 newspapers.

The ADL denied calling "a single editor to request the removal of Buchanan's column, nor would we. Buchanan knows that, and he knows the league is against censorship of any kind." Buchanan, Foxman said, "employed the same 'big lie' tactics perfected by the Nazis during World War II."

Buchanan continued his Israel-bashing after the Gulf war. On March 13, 1991, he wrote: "Israel is not Syria, she is not Iraq, she is not Iran. But she is not our 'strategic asset' either."

"As the Gulf war demonstrated, she is a strategic albatross draped

around the neck of the US."

The New Republic, on October 15, 1990, wrote: "The virulence of Buchanan's comments on the Jews, the indifference to evidence, the inflated rhetoric, the rich conspiratorial imagination, the mystical certainty of rightness, the appetite for enemies, are not characteristic only of his opinions about Israel and the Jews. He is a connoisseur of intolerance. It is proof of the tolerance of America; if proof is needed, that this disgraceful man ranges through the corridors of power and lives in our midst as a star."

When his campaign for the 1992 election got under way, Buchanan's rhetoric softened, and continued in that manner while he waited to run again this year.

"He's a different person today in terms of what he's saying,"

Foxman said yesterday. "The language is a lot different. He used to speak of Christian values, Christian America. Now it's Judeo-Christian values. Still the baggage of the past is still with him. He has not apologized for his anti-Israel, antisemitic and Holocaust denial statements, he has not retracted them and he has not repudiated them."

The Jewish community, Foxman said, "is concerned, and will be concerned, but there is no panic yet." He said he didn't think "a racist will be able to maintain the support of the mainstream," but the problem so far has been that "the media has not asked the questions yet. He has not been challenged. If he moves into the mainstream, the media will seriously challenge him, and then will see the response of the American public."

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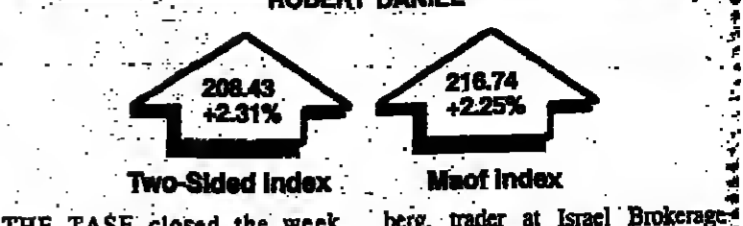
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Chirac ends draft

PARIS (AP) - President Jacques Chirac announced a stunning overhaul of the military yesterday, including the phasing out of France's 198-year-old draft to create a cheaper, tougher fighting force.

Interviewed live by two national television networks, Chirac said France's mandatory 10-month military service will be abolished by 2002, replaced by a smaller, all-volunteer force. Young men still may have to perform a "civilian service."

France's military of half a million soldiers, one of the world's most powerful, will be cut to 350,000 within six years, he said.

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Report: Hang glider was pilotless

DAVID RUDGE

THE abortive airborne terror attack north of the security zone on Tuesday was carried out using a pilotless motorized hang glider, apparently operated by remote control, according to reports from Lebanon.

The attempt failed when the aircraft, packed with explosives, blew up in midair near Majdal Salim village, not far from where it was launched, after apparently hitting power lines.

Lebanese radio stations and news agencies carried reports yesterday that a "previously un-

known group calling itself the Palestinian Islamic Revolutionary Army had claimed responsibility for the operation. They quoted the caller as saying the target of the drone bomber was Kibbutz Manara in the Upper Galilee.

Hizbullah has denied involvement in the abortive attempt, although the craft was launched from an area under the direct control of its activists. The naming of the unknown group was

seen as an attempt to cover up the failure of the operation and its real perpetrators.

If the reports are correct, however, that there was no pilot aboard the aircraft, it would mark a potentially dangerous development in the terror threat emanating from Lebanon.

Israeli Air Force planes blasted Hizbullah targets north of the security zone in south Lebanon early yesterday for the second day running since the failed attack.

The IDF Spokesman said the pilots reported direct hits on the targets, and that all the planes returned safely.

Reports from Lebanon said jets fired at least 10 rockets at suspected Hizbullah strongholds in the vicinity of deserted villages in the Jabal Shafi region.

According to the reports, Hizbullah gunmen fired a volley of shoulder-held surface-to-air Strella missiles, without hitting any of the planes.

There were no immediate reports of casualties.

CONGRESS

(Continued from Page 1)

The Israeli Embassy said it would not respond to the report, because Israel has not been accused of anything.

Companies involved in such activities are connected to corporations in Australia, Austria, England, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland, the Times said.

Meanwhile, CIA director John Deutch yesterday called the recent Defense Department memo alluding to American Jews as foreign agents for Israel a "terrible report."

Deutch, who until recently served as the second-ranking Pentagon official, told a Senate intelligence committee hearing the report "makes assumptions about how individual Americans may act, which I think is inappropriate, and I think the response you will get from the Department of Defense will be of the same nature."

Committee chairman Arlen Specter told Deutch that he has not yet received a response from Defense Secretary William Perry to a letter seeking clarification of the report, which was revealed three weeks ago.

Specter quoted the memo as saying that many of the US's "military friends" represent America's "economic industrial threat."

BEILIN

(Continued from Page 1)

intellectual Ahmed Khalidi.

When Peres voiced displeasure about the disclosure of the talks, Beilin sharply minimized their importance. "There is no secret Oslo-style agreement nor a joint document. Am I not allowed to have meetings with Arabs and exchange ideas? I had the meetings because, as I have said publicly, it is important to know each other's red lines and thereby reach agreement on principles in preparation for the final status talks."

While there is wide speculation that Peres himself must have been aware of the talks - due to repeated press reports of meet-

ings between the academics and Palestinians and since it involved one of his closest aides - his office denies this. Peres's spokeswoman publicly claimed he only learned of the talks after they were completed, and disagreed vociferously with some of the conclusions.

Officials in the Prime Minister's Office insist Peres contacted Beilin and voiced his anger. Peres declined to comment yesterday.

Sources said Foreign Ministry Director-General Uri Savir was also furious that he was not informed of the content of the Beilin-Abbas talks. Both Savir and chief Palestinian negotiator Ahmed Qreia minimized their significance, calling them "academic seminars."

NETANYAHU

(Continued from Page 1)

the same caliber. Peres is experienced and Bibi did not even handle the talks with Tsomet all too brilliantly. One would hardly entrust him with negotiations with the PLO."

Ben-Eliezer said, "Netanyahu is sacrificing his party, its ideology, and its aims in a desperate bid to win the premiership."

Meanwhile, Barak denied at the party political bureau session yesterday that any agreement has been reached with the PLO to establish a Palestinian state. Media reports yesterday said Minister Yossi Beilin and Palestinian negotiator Mahmud Abbas had drafted an agreement on the final settlement, which included a Palestinian state.

RELIGIOUS

(Continued from Page 1)

Religious Party all agree to join, and if it does not "run contrary to Halacha." This, he said, would preclude the inclusion of a woman as one of the NRP representatives.

Shtockhammer also confirmed that two of the names mentioned as possible heads of the list were Rabbi Shmuel HaCohen Kook, chief rabbi of Rehovot, and Rabbi Yitzhak Grossman, from Migdal Ha'emek.

Yesterday, a number of businessmen, including some prominent names in the settlement movement, met in the Tel Aviv area to raise money to push the idea.

Many settlement activists have come out squarely behind the idea, apparently in the hope this

would prevent Shas from forming a coalition with Labor.

The Rabbinical Forum for Israel, headed by former chief rabbi Avraham Shapira, distributed a leaflet calling for the formation of this bloc and suggesting that the decisions of the bloc, if it is formed, obligate all the factions, and that no faction be able to separately enter coalition negotiations.

Meanwhile, officials in both Meimad and the NRP admitted that they were talking about merging. Meimad head and Minister without Portfolio Yehuda Amital said his objective in merging with the NRP would be to moderate the party and to bring it to the center. "I think this would strengthen the moderate wing in the NRP, and I see this as important," he said.

SARID

(Continued from Page 1)

British Council for culture and science in Israel.

Sarid, who spoke after Aloni, dedicated a large part of his speech to the late Yitzhak Rabin and the long way the two had come together, including their agreements and disagreements. Sarid held up a letter from Leah Rabin congratulating him on his election as Meretz leader.

Addressing Palestinian Authority member Nabil Shaath, who attended the gathering, Sarid expressed hope that "The next time we meet you will be a representative of an independent Palestinian state."

To the enthusiastic applause of the council members, Sarid added that this Palestinian state is already on its way and in fact already exists.

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Hick leads England to victory over Holland

PESHAWAR (Bloomberg) - England defeated Holland by 49 runs in Peshawar, Pakistan yesterday to virtually guarantee the squad a place in the World Cup quarter-finals.



MAN OF THE MATCH - Graeme Hick bats en route to an unbeaten 104 yesterday.

England batted solidly after winning the toss, the highlight of their total of 279-4 a partnership of 143 for the third wicket between man-of-the-match Graeme Hick and Graham Thorpe.

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Villa advances to final Manchester United pulls closer to Newcastle in Premier League

LONDON (AP) - Aston Villa advanced to the League Cup final at Wembley after a scoreless draw Wednesday night against Arsenal, going through on the away goals rule.

chances. Paul Merson and Nigel Winterburn came close for Arsenal, while Yorke always looked in danger of scoring his 10th goal in eight games for Villa.

At Old Trafford, goals by Roy Keane in the 30th minute and Ryan Giggs in the 82nd gave Manchester United a convincing win over Everton, last year's FA Cup champions.

State Cup action to the fore in weekend soccer

STATE Cup eighth round matches are the order of the weekend soccer action as both the National League and the Second Division take a break.

ware this season would now appear to lie with a win in the State Cup.

Division Ironi Ashdod with an upset certainly not to be ruled out.

Sabres stop Penguins

BUFFALO, New York (AP) - The Buffalo Sabres blew a three-goal lead before Dave Hannan, Pat LaFontaine and Randy Burridge scored third-period goals Wednesday night in a 6-3 victory over the Pittsburgh Penguins.

one minute apart that chased Canadiens goalie Pat LaFontaine. Kapanev scored again in the game's final minute on a pass from Brendan Shanahan, who had three assists.

Local track athletes get the jump on the competition

WHY should our local track athletes be content to let the swimmers crack all the records?

Philadelphia manages just 57 points in home loss to Miami

PHILADELPHIA (AP) - The Philadelphia 76ers tied a 41-year-old NBA record for fewest points in a game, managing just 57 Wednesday night in a 66-37 loss to the Miami Heat.

Timberwolves trade Laettner to Hawks

The Minnesota Timberwolves became the first team to pull the trigger on a trade before last night's NBA trade deadline, dealing forward Christian Laettner and center Sean Rooks to the Atlanta Hawks for guard Spud Webb and center Andrew Lang.

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SCOREBOARD

WEDNESDAY'S TOP 25 HOOPS RESULTS: No. 10 Wake Forest (18-3) beat Clemson, 62-48. No. 18 Iowa (19-6) beat Michigan State, 83-47.

ON TUESDAY - SPORTS DAY IN THE JERUSALEM POST. The Cricket World Cup hits its second week and all the latest NBA and British Soccer News, in the 12-page supplement, The World of Sport. DON'T MISS IT!

LOCAL SCENE HEATHER CHAIT

proved in 11th place after their last day ended disastrous and included a disqualification due to an early start.

Timberwolves trade Laettner to Hawks

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THERE IT IS - Detroit's Michael Curry slams for two as New York's Patrick Ewing (far left) looks on.

Table with Eastern Conference and Western Conference standings, including columns for team, W, L, Pct., and GB.

A-G won't indict Ben-Eliezer

ATTORNEY-GENERAL Michael Ben-Yair yesterday decided not to indict Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer for improper use of ministry funds, but sharply criticized the minister's behavior.

The police had investigated Ben-Eliezer regarding two separate affairs. One, revealed in the 1994 State Comptroller's Report, dealt with Ben-Eliezer's habit of promising money to towns he was visiting, and then, because his ministry did not have funding to fulfill these promises, canceling grants which had already been promised to other towns to raise the money. These changes were made without explanation and without consulting the ministry's professional staff.

State Comptroller Miriam Ben-Porat found that most of the beneficiaries were towns headed by mayors belonging to Ben-Eliezer's own Labor Party, while most of the losers were governed by Likud mayors. This, she said, raised the suspicion that Ben-Eliezer was abusing his position for party purposes.

The second affair involved the election of the head of the Union

EVELYN GORDON

of Local Authorities in January 1994. Three days before the election, the Arab local council heads made a deal to support Labor candidate Adi Eldar, in exchange for his promise to work for extra funding for their towns.

One day later, Ben-Eliezer - who was running Eldar's campaign - toured six Arab towns and promised substantial budget increases to four of them. Iksal, Dabburiya, Yafia, and Ein Mahil were each promised NIS 1 million, up from NIS 540,000, NIS 420,000, NIS 720,000 and NIS 510,000 respectively. The suspicion was therefore raised that Ben-Eliezer had been engaged in election bribery.

Regarding the first affair, Ben-Yair found that Ben-Eliezer's promises had in fact violated official ministry procedure, since they had not been the result of professional staff work and met no obvious criteria.

"There is a serious deviation from proper administrative conduct here," he wrote. "A hasty decision on the spot cannot be a substitute for orderly staff work.

There was also a conspicuous lack of knowledge of ministry procedures... on the part of both the professionals and the politicians."

However, he said, Ben-Eliezer could not be charged with fraud or breach of trust, because these crimes require the victim to know he was committing a crime, and there is no proof that Ben-Eliezer was aware of this. Furthermore, Ben-Eliezer did not appear to have benefited personally from his actions, Ben-Yair said.

Regarding the second case, Ben-Yair found no evidence that Ben-Eliezer's grants were related to Eldar's agreement with the Arab mayors, particularly since Ben-Eliezer made a habit of promising towns he visited extra funds.

"However, there was a violation of the principles of proper governance," Ben-Yair concluded. "A method of work whereby the minister decides on the spot, in the course of a visit, to increase budgets by very large amounts, sometimes to the point of doubling the town's budget, is inappropriate. This raises suspicions of unfairness and arbitrariness."



Former president Yitzhak Navon (right) convenes the commission investigating the Ethiopian blood scandal yesterday.

Navon Commission gets under way

BATSHEVA TSUR

THE first public session of the Navon Commission looking into the issue of discarding blood from Ethiopian donors will convene on Monday in Jerusalem.

Members of the committee, headed by former president Yitzhak Navon, yesterday held a closed session to discuss procedural matters.

The commission was appointed by Prime Minister Shimon Peres following last month's violent demonstration by members of the community, when news leaked that blood donations from Ethio-

pian immigrants were not being used, on the grounds there was a high risk they were HIV positive. The commission's mandate empowers it to also explore the social implications of the issue.

Navon said later that it is not up to the commission to decide whether those found responsible should be fired. "We will not discuss dismissals. We'll study all aspects of the subject," he said. "We shall treat the issue with great sensitivity, bearing in mind

the blow dealt to the honor of this community which made aliya in such an extraordinary way."

He said the recommendations would be presented to Peres within a few weeks.

The commission will hear testimony at its first session from Absorption Minister Yair Tzaban, representatives of the Jewish Agency, and researchers. Later, epidemiologists and hematologists will testify, as will representatives of the Health Ministry and the Central Blood Bank.

Meanwhile, the High Court of Justice is expected to rule on Tuesday on a petition by blood bank director Dr. Amnon Ben-David against the presence on the commission of Addisu Messala, head of the Unified Ethiopian Immigrants' Organization. Messala went on record calling for Ben-David's dismissal, saying he was responsible for the policy to discard the blood. Messala yesterday refused to comment on this.

WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear. Warmer than usual. Shabbat: Decline in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Low	High	Cloud
Alexandria	17	24	partly
Bahia	20	28	cloudy
Bombay	24	32	partly
Chicago	10	18	cloudy
Frankfurt	10	18	partly
Hong Kong	20	28	cloudy
London	10	18	partly
Los Angeles	10	18	cloudy
Madrid	10	18	partly
Moscow	10	18	cloudy
New York	10	18	partly
Paris	10	18	cloudy
Shanghai	20	28	partly
Tokyo	20	28	cloudy
Vienna	10	18	partly
Zurich	10	18	cloudy

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